

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 160130Z FEB 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9600
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0551

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORC, MOPS, UNSC, ET, SO
SUBJ: HORN OF AFRICA: POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

REF: (A) USUN 527; (B) LAGOS 1882; (C) USUN 511

SUMMARY: SOUNDINGS BY AND WITH WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL FEB. 15 INDICATE THAT DEGREE OF PERCEIVED "BALANCE" IN ANY WESTERN FIVE SPONSORED RESOLUTION ON HORN WILL BE CRITICAL TO SUCCESS IN GAINING ENOUGH VOTES FOR INSCRIPTION OF ITEM AND FOR SOLID NON-BLOC SUPPORT FOR SUBSEQUENT RESOLUTION IN COUNCIL. A DRAFT RESOLUTION ALONG LINES OF ORIGINAL WESTERN FIVE "ELEMENTS" (REF C) COULD SUCCEED IN ABOVE RESPECTS AND THUS PROVIDE SOME CHANCE OF FOCUSING WORLD OPINION ON NEED FOR CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ON PRINCIPLES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL PARTIES. ADDITION OF US-SPONSORED CLAUSE CALLING FOR REMOVAL OF SOVIETS AND CUBANS FROM HORN ENTIRELY, HOWEVER, PROBABLY WOULD BE SEEN AS "UNBALANCING"

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RESOLUTION AND WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE RISKS OF FAILURE, BOTH TO INSCRIBE ITEM AND TO GAIN ENOUGH POSITIVE VOTES FOR SUBSEQUENT RESOLUTION TO FACE SOVIETS WITH UNPALATABLE OPTION OF VETO. END SUMMARY.

1. MEETING OF WESTERN FIVE REPRESENTATIVES ON THE HORN
FEBRUARY 15 CENTERED ON US-PROPOSED ADDITION TO DRAFT

"ELEMENTS" OF A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES "FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT." FOUR FEARED THAT US-PROPOSED ADDITION UNDERMINED THE BALANCE OF ORIGINAL DRAFT "ELEMENTS" AND, IN SO DOING, COULD CHANGE THE WHOLE NATURE OF ANY SUBSEQUENT COUNCIL DEBATE.

2. AS "ELEMENTS" STOOD WITHOUT US-PROPOSED ADDITION, FOUR AGREED THAT FIVE COULD MAKE PERSUASIVE CASE THAT "ELEMENTS" WERE BALANCED, CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT THAT STOOD FAIR CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE BY AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED SC MEMBERS AS POSITIVE STEP TOWARD CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BASED ON RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF BOTH SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA. ORIGINAL "ELEMENTS" ALSO LENT CREDENCE TO US EMPHASIS THAT US SAW LITTLE TO BE GAINED FROM "POINTING FINGERS OR CALLING NAMES" (REF A).

3. WHILE AGREEING FULLY WITH US WISH TO HAVE SOVIETS AND CUBANS LEAVE THE HORN, FOUR FEARED THAT "ELEMENTS" CONTAINING US-PROPOSED ADDITION WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THAT GOAL. ANY HOPE OF SOVIET ACQUIESCENCE WOULD BE DESTROYED AND ENSUING EAST-WEST VITRIOL IN COUNCIL (SHOULD ITEM BE INSCRIBED) WOULD UNDERMINE CHANCES FOR POSITIVE OUTCOME. AFRICAN, ENMESHED IN THEIR CON-

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CERN FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND MINDFUL OF WHICH SUPERPOWER HAD, IN THEIR EYES, MOST ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THAT PRINCIPLE IN THE HORN, WOULD NOT SUPPORT US-SPONSORED ADDITION TO ELEMENTS. FRENCH REP (GARRIQUE) MADE IT CLEAR THAT FRANCE WOULD HAVE REAL DIFFICULTY ASSOCIATING HERSELF WITH "ELEMENTS" CONTAINING US-SPONSORED ADDITION. U.S. LANGUAGE TOO SEVERELY RISKED TARRING FRENCH AFRICAN POLICY WITH BRUSH INTENDED FOR SOVIETS. FRENCH SAID THAT WHOLE ENTREPREISE WOULD BE HELPED IF SIAD COULD BE PERSUADED TO ISSUE A STATEMENT OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW SOMALI TROOPS FROM OGADEN.

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4. DURING COURSE OD AY, MISSION ALSO CONTACTED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY ALL OTHER NON-SOVIET BLOC MEMBERS OF COUNCIL. WHILE ALL SAID THEY HAD TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS, THERE WAS A CONSISTENT FEELING THAT "SOMETHING" SHOULD BE DONE AND THAT VIEWS OF AFRICANS SHOULD BE KEY FACTOR IN DETERMINING WHAT THAT "SOMETHING" WAS. VENEZUELAN ACTING PERMREP LOPEZ SAID THAT, PERSONALLY, SHE FAVORED SC MEETING AND WAS CONFIDENT THAT HER BOLIVIAN COLLEAGUE WOULD TOO. KUWAITI PERMREP BISHARA TOLD MISOFF ANY SC DEBATE WOULD "BACKFIRE" ON WEST AND COUNSELLED WAITING. CHINESE REP SAID CHINA PROBABLY WOULD FOLLOW AFRICAN LEAD. INDIAN PERMREP JAIPAL TOLD MISOFF THAT HE WISHED TO WITHHOLD JUDGEMENT.

5. AMONG AFRICANS, GABON PERMREP N'DONG OPPOSED A MEETING ON PRINCIPLE BUT AWAITS INSTRUCTIONS. MAURITIANS PERMREP RAMPHUL TOLD MISOFF THAT AFRICAN GROUP CONFIDENTIAL

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WAS BADLY SPLIT ON THE ISSUE BUT THAT PERSONALLY HE THOUGHT SESSION WOULD BE GOOD IDEA. WESTERN FIVE DRAFT COULD GET NINE VOTES IF IT WAS "BALANCED". NIGERIAN DEPUTY PERMREP GEORGE REPEATED GARBA'S COUNSEL TO DELAY SC ACTION.

6. COMMENT: OUTCOME OF VOTE -- BOTH FOR INSCRIPTION OF ITEM AND FOR WESTERN-SPONSORED DRAFT RESOLUTION -- APPEARS TO US TO HINGE ON WHETHER OR NOT US-SPONSORED ADDITION IS INCLUDED IN ANY DRAFT "ELEMENTS" OR RESOLUTION. IF IT

IS NOT INCLUDED, MISSION BELIEVES THAT, WITH TOUGH LOBBYING, WE CAN GET AFRICAN SUPPORT, INSCRIBE ITEM, AND GAIN NINE POSITIVE VOTES IN COUNCIL, THUS LEAVING THE SOVIETS WITH THE CHOICE OF VETOING OR SEEING RESOLUTION PASS. WHILE THERE CAN BE NO ASSURANCE THAT A RESOLUTION SUPPORTED AT LEAST BY NON-BLOC MEMBERS CAN EFFECT THE COURSE OF ARMED CONFLICT IN THE HORN, MISSION BELIEVES THAT, COMBINED WITH A MILITARY EXPULSION OF SOMALIA FROM THE OGADEN, SUCH SC ACTION COULD HELP FOCUS WORLD OPINION ON NEED FOR CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT ANY ETHIOPIAN ADVANCE INTO SOMALIA PROPER.

7. ON OTHER HAND, IF DRAFT "ELEMENTS" AND RESOLUTION INCLUDE US SPONSORED ELEMENT, MISSION BELIEVES THAT WE MAY WELL FAIL EVEN TO INSCRIBE ITEM. FIVE ARE AGREED THAT, FROM UN VIEW, SUCH FAILURE WOULD BE WORST POSSIBLE OUTCOME, CREATING, AS IT WOULD, THE IMPRESSION OF A SOVIET DIPLOMATIC VICTORY ON TOP OF THEIR PROBABLE MILITARY SUCCESS.

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